

The Rockefeller Foundation

Program in International Relations

JULY 1977

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
1133 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOREWORD

The Rockefeller Foundation is pleased to announce the creation of a new international relations program under the leadership of Mason Willrich, Director for International Relations. The program was approved by the Trustees on April 6, 1977, following a major review conducted by Dr. Willrich and his staff in cooperation with the other Foundation divisions, the international relations program committee, and after extensive consultation with persons outside the Foundation.

The new program will replace the Conflict in International Relations program, which was launched in 1973 under the able guidance of Elmore Jackson, and Joseph E. Black, Director for Social Sciences. Building upon the valuable contributions of that program, the Foundation's future work in international relations will now focus on fewer areas—world energy, world food and agriculture, and regional conflicts and security arrangements—and give greater emphasis to public policy analysis. The new international relations program will also be implemented in ways that foster closer cooperation with other important Foundation programs.

JOHN H. KNOWLES, M.D.
President

July 1977

PROGRAM GUIDELINES

Premises

The program is premised on:

- the need for cooperation in the management of world problems in order to meet the minimum needs and legitimate expectations of an expanding human population;
- the potential for destructive violence and the catastrophic consequences of large-scale war; and
- the lack of institutions capable of anticipating and resolving major economic and political conflicts likely to arise in a period of profound and rapid change.

Problem Areas

The main problem areas are:

- world energy;
- world food and agriculture; and
- regional conflicts and security arrangements.

Objectives

What decisions are made and how problems are managed, nationally and internationally, in each of these broad areas will affect immediate economic and political conditions as well as the future character of the interdependent world community.

Within each problem area, the primary objectives are:

- to identify core problems for which cooperative action is or will be required for effective management, or for the avoidance or resolution of conflict;
- to assess such problems from a global perspective in order to develop and evaluate alternative courses of action and institutional arrangements for coping with them;
- to develop scholarly and professional competence in relevant policy analysis; and

- to increase public understanding of the context, issues, policy alternatives, and need for timely actions.

The world is now in the early stages of a painful, uncertain, and lengthy transition from primary reliance on low-cost oil and gas to much higher-cost energy alternatives. The transition may be managed smoothly or fitfully, equitably or unfairly, or it may prove ultimately to be unmanageable. In any event, the prospects of every citizen in every country will be affected by the outcome, and the process of shaping the outcome will be a central task in the coming decades.

Food production and distribution will be a continuing and deepening world political problem. The problem will be aggravated by the possibility of climatic changes and the certainty of scarce water in many regions. It will be compounded by demographic trends in many of the poorest countries. These trends will result in huge increases in world population levels in the next few decades, regardless of the success of current and future efforts to reduce growth rates. Food prices and agricultural development policies can become explosive domestic issues in many countries, especially where there is high chronic unemployment. These issues have substantial international ramifications. Global food production and distribution will be a question of life or death for increasing numbers of poor people, and a potent political issue between rich and poor in the broader struggle to restructure international economic relations.

There are particular regions where political tensions among peoples and between nations appear most dangerous for the world community, and where armed conflict is occurring or is most likely to break out. Examples of regions of special concern are: the Middle East, southern Africa, and Northeast Asia. The political approaches pursued in regions with high potential for conflict and escalation—by powers inside and outside—have major importance for international security. Peacekeeping and arms control arrangements in such regions are matters deserving high priority.

Through the program, the Foundation will explore interactions among international, transnational, and domestic aspects of global problems, and also interrelationships of the enumerated areas with other major developments in the world community. For example, population growth and employment will be major considerations with respect to worldwide distribution and production of both energy and food. In this sense, energy, food, and regional security may be viewed as focal points around which work will be organized.

Approach

The program is intended to make a constructive contribution to public policy. Therefore, it will aim specifically at the development and evaluation of alternative courses of action and institutional arrangements for dealing with concrete problems. Two interrelated approaches will be followed concurrently:

- development of an analytic framework for policymaking; and
- conduct of public policy assessments of specific problems.

A policy framework for each area will be developed and improved over time. This is in itself a major intellectual undertaking that is too often ignored in public policy processes. The main purposes of an analytic framework are to provide a common basis for developing and assessing the potential consequences of specific policy options and institutional alternatives, and to clarify the underlying interests and values at stake in the decision-making process. Such a framework will also be generally useful to the Foundation staff and interested persons outside the Foundation in evaluating completed studies, coordinating work underway, and organizing future efforts.

Specific problems which are determined to have key importance and to be in need of further analysis will be explored in depth. Too often public policy decisions are made without careful analysis of the problem, the alternatives, and the likely consequences of implementing various alternatives. When decisions are supported by technical, economic, and environmental studies, the core political and social issues often remain obscure. Moreover, in national policymaking, international ramifications are frequently given insufficient weight.

The main purpose of Foundation-supported assessments of specific problems in relation to world energy, food, or regional security will thus be to contribute to the development and evaluation of courses of action to cope with these problems more effectively. The results of the various studies undertaken will be related to each other and will assist in the elaboration and refinement of the general policy framework.

Policy analysis of the world energy situation may embrace: the structure and level of demand, security of supply for consumers and access to markets for producers, price and finance, environmental and social risks and costs, research and development of new technology; and institutional arrangements such as national and transnational industrial structures (including the role of multinational corporations), inter-governmental relationships, and the role of international organizations.

Such questions might be explored with reference to the political world map and the fuel cycles for each primary energy resource, including oil, natural gas, coal, hydro, nuclear fission, nuclear fusion, geothermal, solar, wind, and biomass.

Similarly, policy analysis of the world food situation may be concerned with: the composition of world demand for various foods, security of supply from the perspectives of both consumer and producer countries, pricing and financial policy, environmental policy affecting agricultural development, the role of energy in various food production processing and distribution systems, the role of multinational agribusiness, the role of futures markets, trade in agricultural products, food aid, and the role of international organizations.

Although food and energy issues appear analogous and these two global problems are deeply interrelated, the political and social contexts differ in many significant ways. Parallel investigation of these problem areas is thus likely to yield useful general insights regarding the economic and political management of world interdependence. With respect to both, attention will be given to the special difficulties of the less developed countries.

Systematic analysis of evolving regional security problems may include military, political, and also relevant economic factors. Arms control, methods for peaceful settlement of disputes, peacekeeping techniques, and means to reduce the risk of escalation in the event armed conflicts occur will be studied in specific regional contexts. Important transnational and domestic political issues and relationships may be explored as well as intergovernmental matters. While the structure of the inquiry will be determined largely by the circumstances pertaining in the specific region concerned, general insights regarding regional conflict avoidance and crisis management may well emerge.

Three ancillary activities will be related to the main approaches enumerated above:

- As policy analyses and problem assessments uncover gaps in knowledge or theory that basic research might fill, these will be identified as topics which merit support.
- Continuing efforts will be made to discover and develop young scholars and practitioners in fields of primary concern to the program.
- As appropriate, the program may assist in the design of relevant educational and communications programs for wide public distribution.

Implementation

In implementing the program, we will seek ways to involve persons and organizations reflecting the diversity of opinions and interests inherent in actual problems. Thus, Foundation officers will invite advice, proposals, and participation by persons in academic institutions, research organizations, citizen interest groups, private business, and public agencies—domestic, foreign, and international. Moreover, we will seek to develop transnational networks of individuals and institutions in countries relevant to the program activity contemplated or underway.

The program will have limited funds available. Nevertheless, in tackling major world problems from a public policy perspective, it is possible—and indeed preferable—to begin with a modest level of funding. This is because high quality policy analysis is likely to result from a combination of intensive thought by a few persons and extensive criticism by many. Such activity can be much less costly than scientific research intended to acquire new knowledge. As the program is implemented, the Foundation's funds may also be augmented by joint support of some projects from other private and public sources.

Under the program, The Rockefeller Foundation will, as appropriate, initiate and carry out activities itself, request others to carry out activities, and respond to proposals from qualified persons for support of activities within the program guidelines. Since the program will be developed and administered by a small staff, the bulk of the activities will be conducted by others.

In implementing the program, the Foundation may provide support to others through:

- appropriations in the form of grants to academic institutions, non-profit research organizations, and public agencies, or in the form of contracts with profit-making research organizations;
- small grants in aid to individuals and institutions;
- fellowships for individuals outside the Foundation; and
- visiting research fellowships for periods of up to two years to bring a small number of exceptionally qualified persons to the Foundation to assist in program development and to perform policy research related to specific program interest.

It is contemplated that the program will be implemented on a systematic basis. As the world situation evolves, the general frameworks

will be reviewed and the primary issues modified. When policy assessment leads to important conclusions or recommendations, these results will be distributed widely to the public and may also be further developed through conferences and additional research if warranted. Thus, the continuing exploration of problems within the broad areas—energy, food, regional security—may, over time, achieve coherence and increasing impact.

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The Rockefeller Foundation charter mandates a primary concern for the well being of mankind and a broad global perspective. Energy and food are essential human needs in every society. Regional security is vital to world peace. The program, therefore, has substantial importance in relation to the Foundation's general institutional purposes, as well as intrinsic merit.

There is a continuing need for an effort aimed at analysis of alternative courses of action and institutional arrangements in relation to world energy, world food and agriculture, and regional security. Each of these areas has already been, and will continue to be, the subject of much study and discussion. However, academic research tends to focus on theory and economic matters from the viewpoint of particular business firms or economic sectors. Government studies of major policy issues are necessarily biased by a particular national perspective and usually limited by the even narrower jurisdictional limits of the performing or sponsoring agency. Therefore, a private foundation, such as The Rockefeller Foundation, occupies a position of detachment that is well suited to the initiation and support of public policy analysis from a worldwide perspective. A private foundation can probe the core issues deeply, publicly, and dispassionately. Moreover, in implementing a program, it can bring together views from the private and public sectors—domestic and foreign—and combine the analytical tools of a variety of disciplines.

Finally, energy, food, and regional security will build upon and, at the same time, strengthen existing Foundation programs. The Rockefeller Foundation has a long and distinguished history of support for international research in the agricultural sciences through the Conquest of Hunger program. It has likewise pioneered in research on scientific problems related to population and development policy through the Population and Health program. Research and training relevant to the needs of developing countries have been a major thrust of the Education for Development program. The Quality of the Environment program

has recently broadened its objectives to include resources management, and, of course, many energy-related activities are major sources of global environmental pollution. Consequently, the public policy issues of primary concern in the new international relations program cut across and will provide opportunities for interrelating much of the Foundation's more scientific and technical work.

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Approved For Release 2009/06/04 : CIA-RDP05S00620R000200470062-1



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